## Message Text

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**ACTION NEA-10** 

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 ORM-02 DHA-02 SAJ-01 /093 W

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R 071138Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7705

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

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GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O.-1652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR FR XF PLO

SUBJ: FRENCH CONVERSATIONS WITH PLO

1. SUMMARY: DURING TALKS LAST WEEK, PLO POLITICAL CHIEF KADDUMI OUTLINED TO THE FRENCH CURRENT PLO THINKING ON A NUMBER OF MATTERS, MOST OF WHICH ARE NOT NEW. HE LISTED THREE THINGS THE US MIGHT DO TO "UNBLOCK" GENEVA. THE QUAI DETECTED A FIRMER PLO ATTACHMENT TO BEING ON AN "EQUAL FOOTING" AT GENEVA, THAN TO BEING NECESSARILY PART OF THE GENEVA PROCESS FROM THE BEGINNING. THE PLO INTENDS TO RETAIN ITS HEAVY ARMS IN LEBANON. THE PNC, ACCORDING TO KADDUMI, PROBABLY WILL AUTHORIZE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CREATE, AT THE RIGHT MOMENT, A GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY FOR LIBERATED TERRITORIES; THE QUAI THINKS FORMATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT CAN NOT BE EXCLUDED. END SUMMARY.

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2. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR THE LEVANT HENRI SERVANT HAS

GIVEN US A FILL-IN ON PLO "FONMIN" FAROUK KADDUMI'S TALKS AT THE QUAI WITH POLITICAL DIRECTOR LABOULAYE ON NOV 29. ON THE US, KADDUMI CLAIMED THAT THE REAL PURPOSE OF SABRI JUREISS' VISIT TO WASHINGTON WAS NOT TO OPEN A PLO OFFICE, BUT TO LOBBY WITH CONGRESS FOR US RECOGNITION OF THE PLO. WHILE THEY FOUND THIS EXPLANATION A PATENTLY FACE-SAVING DEVICE, THE FRENCH WERE MORE INTERESTED IN KADDUMI'S COMMENTS ON PLO RELATIONS WITH THE US AS A FACTOR IN RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

- 3. KADDUMI SAID THAT THE WAY TO GENEVA COULD BE UNBLOCKED IF THE US WERE TO DO ONE OF THREE THINGS: ACCEPT THE PLO IN GENEVA ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS; RECOGNIZE THE "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIANS; OR DECLARE THAT IT FAVORS A PALESTINIAN STATE. IN A SENSE, KADDUMI INDICATED, EACH OF THESE CONDITIONS CONTAINS THE OTHERS, SO IN ORDER TO GET THE GENEVA PROCESS GOING AGAIN, THE PLO WOULD INSIST ON THE FULFILLMENT OF ONLY ONE. AS FOR MODALITIES, KADDUMI SAID THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT THE CARTER ADMINIS-TRATION. WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD PROBABLY BE RECEPTIVE AND MAKE NEW PROPOSALS. THE FRENCH DETECTED A MUCH FIRMER PLO ATTACHMENT TO THE NOTION OF BEING ACCEPTED ON AN "EQUAL FOOTING" AT GENEVA THAN TO BEING A PART PER SE OF THE GENEVA PROCESS FROM THE BEGINNING. IN OTHER WORDS. THE PLO MIGHT WELL SETTLE FOR ADMISSION AT A SECOND STAGE.
- 4. ON LEBANON, KADDUMI SAID THAT IT WOULD BE
  DESIREABLE FOR SARKIS TO ORGANIZE A LEBANESE (NOT ARAB)
  FORCE IN SOUTH LEBANON. HE REPEATED THAT THE PLO WOULD
  RESPECT THE CAIRO ACCORDS, BUT SAID THAT THIS DID NOT
  MEAN IT WOULD BEGIN OPERATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL, AT LEAST
  NOT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IN REPLY TO LABOULAYE'S
  QUESTION, KADDUMI SAID THAT PLO HEAVY ARMS WOULD BE
  EVACUATED FROM CITIES AND REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE CENTER
  TOWARDS THE SOUTH, BUT THAT THEY WOULD REMAIN PALESTINIAN
  AND BE CONTROLLED BY NO ONE ELSE; MANY HEAVY ARMS WOULD
  LEAVE LEBANON WITH THE PLA WHEN IT MOVES TO SYRIA AND
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EGYPT. SERVANT NOTED THAT THIS DIFFERS FROM SARKIS' POSITION WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THE PLO TO TURN BACK TO THE LEBANESE ARMY ARMS TAKEN FROM IT AND TO SURRENDER THE BALANCE TO THE ARAB SECURITY FORCES.

5. KADDUMI INDICATED THAT THE POSTPONED MEETING OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC) HAD BEEN SLATED TO

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 ORM-02 DHA-02 SAJ-01 /093 W

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV USMISSION USUN

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RECONSIDER OVERALL POLICY. WHEN IT DOES MEET, THE PNC IS NOT LIKELY TO DECIDE ON THE FORMATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT SINCE MORE CONSULTATION WITH ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND TERRITORY ARE NEEDED. RATHER, KADDUMI CONTINUED, THE PNC PROBABLY WILL AUTHORIZE THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CREATE, AT THE RIGHT MOMENT, A GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITY FOR TERRITORY LIBERATED BY ISRAEL. SERVANT COMMENTED THAT HE WAS NOT SURE ABOUT KADDUMI'S PREDICTION SINCE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RECOGNIZED BY MANY NONALIGNED AND THUS GIVE THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE THE NEW IMPETUS WHICH THE PLO REALIZES IT NEEDS.

6. KADDUMI SAID THAT HE HAD HAD NO INFORMATION ABOUT SOVIET VIEWS ON A SETTLEMENT SINCE THEIR NOTE OF OCT 1, BUT INTENDED TO GO SOON TO MOSCOW.

UNSURPRISINGLY, HE CALLED THE ALLON PLAN "UNACCEPTABLE".

THERE WAS NO QUESTION EITHER OF PLO REPRESENTATION IN CONFIDENTIAL

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A JORDANIAN DELEGATION OR OF A JORDANO-PALESTINIAN STATE. ISRAEL CAN NOT BE RECOGNIZED, HE INSISTED, UNTIL IT HAS DEFINED THE BORDERS WITHIN WHICH IT WANTS RECOGNITION. KADDUMI MAINTAINED THAT BY SAYING IT WOULD ACCEPT A STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, THE PLO SHOWED THAT IT DOES NOT WISH TO DESTROY ISRAEL. (SERVANT OBSERVED THAT SUCH A GOAL IS IMPLICIT, HOWEVER, IN THE PLO'S CALL FOR A BINATIONAL STATE.) KADDUMI ALSO STATED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE IS ONLY "ONE STEP"; THE RETURN OF PALESTINIAN REFUGEES WAS MORE IMPORTANT. FINALLY, KADDUMI HOPED THAT EUROPE, ESPECIALLY FRANCE, WOULD WORK ON THE US.

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